The Fight Has Just Begun!

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Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 48 December 1, 1960 Section 1 — News

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The Shame of Our Cities: Nigh on fifty years ago, a muckraker of that day named Lincoln Steffens coined the phrase "the shame of our cities" as he reported on the organizations of political rings and predatory business that rigged elections, misgoverned and raided the public till in our budding metropolitan areas. The picture today has changed only in that liberals, resting their power on Democratic bosses and their machines, have been up to many of the same antics, although, of course, now it's "for the good of the working people." Exploiting class and race hatred and marching small armies of "minority" groups to the polls in big cities, the Democrats appear to have gone so far as to try to steal the recent Presidential election.

To Washingtonians, this comes as no surprise. For veterans of Capitol Hill can recall how, a dozen years ago, one of the most brilliant double-dome intellectuals of the New and Fair Deals was tried, convicted and served a jail term on the charge of stuffing ballot boxes for the Democrats. The alliance between long-haired professors and uninhibited ward heelers (who were at odds a half century ago) has now became a familiar phenomenon. In the Republican party, the modern Republicans recently sought to follow the same pattern and, in Indiana, some of them went to jail for their pains.

Possible overthrow of the apparent Kennedy majority by recounts has stirred the Capital far more than the many pro-Kennedy journalists want to report.

On Capitol Hill, in clubs and restaurants, at every table one hears such snatches of talk as: "If Nixon gets Illinois . . . ," or, "Do you think the election will be thrown into the House?" Every day the Chicago *Tribune* reports progress by re-counters in waterfront precincts in finding votes stolen from the Republicans.

No one here ventures a guess whether the discoveries may prove of sufficient magnitude to upset the original election outcome. But the picture becomes clearer: the Kennedy support on election day depended inexorably on minority blocs in boss-ridden cities, with his party's workers stealing as many votes from Nixon as possible.

Electoral College: Vice President Nixon would have won the 1960 Presidential election by an electoral vote of 282 to 250, had the Mundt-Coudert plan for Electoral College reform been in effect on November 8. The remaining five votes would have gone to the unpledged ticket which carried Mississippi. This is the conclusion of an analysis by the American Good Government Society (1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.). The Society is a foundation which is well known for its study of Electoral College problems.

Under the Mundt-Coudert system, each congressional district would have one electoral vote and each state would have two at-large votes. Under the system now in effect, Senator Kennedy received all of the 148 electoral votes in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Texas and Michigan. This was over half of what he needed for election.

Had the Mundt-Coudert proposal been in effect, the votes of these states would have been divided between the two candidates, with Nixon getting 19 *in New York,* 15 *in Pennsylvania,* 14 *in Illinois,* 8 *in Texas and* 10 *in Michigan. Kennedy would have received the remaining* 26 *in New York,* 17 *in Pennsylvania,* 13 *in Illinois,* 16 *in Texas and* 10 *in Michigan. On the other hand, Senator Kennedy would have received* 5 *of Ohio's* 25 *votes and* 11 *of California's* 32. *These* 57 *electoral votes went to the Vice President under the present setup.*

Other Nixon gains at the expense of Kennedy would have been as follows: Missouri 7, New Jersey and North Carolina 6 each, Minnesota 4, Maryland 3, South Carolina and West Virginia 2 each, Arkansas and Connecticut 1 each. He would also have received one of Alabama's unpledged votes. Kennedy would have taken the following votes from his rival: Florida, Tennessee and Wisconsin 4 each, Virginia and Washington 3 each, Kentucky 2, and Colorado, Indiana, Montana and Oklahoma 1 each. He would have received 5 of Alabama's unpledged votes and 3 of Mississippi's.

The above figures are based on existing congressional districts. When Senator Karl E. Mundt

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(R.-S.D.) reintroduces his amendment in January, it will include an anti-gerrymandering provision and will also provide for districts of approximately equal population.

Already, proponents of the Senator's plan are seeking to create a national committee to push its passage. Many suggest former Congressman Frederic Coudert, co-author of the plan, who is now in private practice of law in New York, to head such a committee.

Case, Cooper and Confusion: The post-election line of the liberal pundits in regard to the Republican party has been quite simply: "Knock the stuffings out of the GOP by building up modern Republicans *who won with big pluralities as the only ones who* can lead the party to victory."

The modern Republican darlings of the liberal columnists are mainly New Jersey Senator Clifford Case (who won with a 335,000 vote plurality) and Kentucky Senator John Sherman Cooper (who won by 195,000 votes). The argument runs that only candidates such as these have the knack for victory because they can appeal to all groups and therefore run up big pluralities.

But a longtime political analyst summed up the situation for HUMAN EVENTS last week by stating: "What these columnists [he used Marquis Childs as an example] know but don't tell their readers is that, when the people have a choice between two liberal candidates, they always seem to take the Republican, not because he's more liberal but because he usually maintains at least some basic conservative tendencies because of his party affiliation."

He cited the fact that John Sherman Cooper had been strongly for the Taft-Hartley law in 1947—and later voted against repeal—although this won him the animosity of the union bosses, notably John L. Lewis.

In respect to Case, his plurality was a natural, because he was running against an impotent candidate (Thorn Lord) who was unattractive even to liberals, and because Case was at least conservative enough (he has a 43 per cent "right" rating in the ACA Index) to get the votes of the state's Republicans, who had absolutely nothing to look to in Lord.

The Case-Cooper type of victories are therefore negative endorsements to a very high degree—with the electorate accepting them on a "lesser of two evils" basis rather than handing them a mandate to go out and reshape and lead the GOP.

Another phony pitch being thrown out by the liberal press is that Leverett Saltonstall's Massachusetts Senate victory, by an impressive margin of 306,000 votes over an Irish Catholic opponent (in a 50 per cent Catholic state which Kennedy carried by over a half million), was a smashing triumph for the modern Republican argument. Nothing could be further from the truth. Saltonstall has one of the most consistently conservative voting records in either legislative body. He scored a creditable 69 per cent rating with ACA and he was on COPE's "purge" list this year. During the battle over the Landrum-Griffin bill in 1959, Saltonstall went down the line with Goldwater and continually asked Goldwater's labor adviser during the debate, "What does Barry think?"

As the liberals continue to cry for leadership of the GOP by such as Case and Cooper (along with Javits and Rockefeller), the question arises: "What sort of party leadership could be provided by men who shun their party label in their campaigns and take no pride in their party affiliations?"

New York: Although the Republicans lost New York by over 400,000 votes, it is noted that Nixon carried the New York City borough of Richmond (Staten Island), an area with a large Catholic population. In the densely Catholic borough of Queens, Nixon lost to Kennedy by only an 11-9 ratio; this, in spite of the fact that since the 1956 election there has been a large influx of Jewish voters who tend to vote Democratic.

Crumbling, under analysis, is the argument that Nelson Rockefeller would have carried the Empire State had he headed the ticket. Nixon got 37 per cent of New York City's vote. Nelson Rockefeller, running against weak candidate Averell Harriman in the 1958 gubernatorial race, received 42 per cent of the city's vote. Even if Rocky had approached that figure as the candidate this year—which is highly unlikely because of Kennedy's appeal in the big town—the Republicans still would have lost the state by some 100,000 votes. Also, there is no indication that Rocky would have run better, or even as well, as Nixon in most parts of the state.

Cabinet Talk: Rumor suggests that Dean James M. Landis may be named by the President-elect as Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Landis, an old New Dealer, is close to father Joseph P. Kennedy; succeeded him in the Thirties as Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Just now, Landis is making a report for the President-elect on all these independent agencies.

Leslie Gould, financial editor of the New York *Journal American,* reports that Joseph P. Kennedy is a law client of Landis. Gould also reports that airline people feel there would be some conflict of interest if Landis were to head CAB, for he "is currently an active candidate for election to the $35,000 presidency of the Air Line Pilots Association. Even Landis' friends can't explain that candidacy." Washington asks, "Conflict of interest already?"

• Persistent rumors that Thomas K. Finletter, formerly Truman's Secretary of the Air Force, will be named Secretary of Defense. He is also a member of the left-wing Liberal party clique in New York Democratic politics. With his pronounced bias in favor of the Air Force, Pentagon comment is that if Finletter gets the post, some of the most valuable high officers of the Army and Navy (maybe even Admiral Arleigh Burke) will resign.

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• Cabinet maneuvering causes Adlai agony. Reportedly, Kennedy has turned him down for Secretary of State; when he asked for the Ambassadorship to the UN, same refusal. To placate his followers, Kennedy GHQ suggested Stevenson be made Ambassador to Britain. Adlai says he doesn't want it, but it's believed that he'll eventually take it. That or nothing.

• Apparently few big calibre Democrats are anxious to fill the role of Secretary of Agriculture. It is reported that three have been approached by Kennedy about taking the job, but all have declined. Apparently, the crucifixion suffered by Ezra Benson in the Ike Administration, as he sought to perform the herculean task of solving the farm problem, discourages some office-seekers. It may, say Capital dopesters, fall to some Democratic lame duck.

The Ohio Story: The surprising upset when Ohio discredited the pollsters and turned in a spanking majority for the Nixon ticket has many pros in Washington speculating as to the reasons. Ohio was the one big industrial state which went for Nixon. What hasn't attracted sufficient notice is that Ohio voters not only turned against Kennedy, they also repudiated the administration of Democratic Governor Michael V. DiSalle by giving majorities to Republicans in both houses of the legislature. The GOP swept out of office many Democratic legislators who had been elected in 1958 when the right-to-work issue brought out a big labor vote and resulted in a Democratic landslide.

The key to the overturn, according to the well-informed *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review* of Columbus, Ohio, was a taxpayers' revolt against more than $300 million in additional taxes voted by the legislature last year at the behest of Governor DiSalle.

> **"This, plus the fact," reports the weekly, "that some of Governor DiSalle's aides hinted rather broadly that still more taxes would be proposed at the next session of the legislature . . . really lit the fuse for the explosion."**

And Kennedy? "All the voters needed," says the weekly, "to put the final touches on the revolt was provided by Senator Kennedy when he stumped the state shortly before the election with his elaborate—and costly—New Frontier program."

Reds in Minnesota: "Workers, small farmers, minority groups, working women of farm and home had more grounds to be sad than glad over the Minnesota election returns." So declared the Communist *Worker* last week as it surveyed that state's election results. Virtually the only thing *The Worker* had to cheer about was Senator Hubert Humphrey's re-election. On the "sad side" the Red sheet chalked up the following:

• The defeat of Democratic-Farmer-Labor Governor Orville Freeman, who sought his fourth term.

• The unseating of Roy Wier, Minneapolis trade unionist who was after his seventh House term.

• The defeat again this time of "Coya Come Home" Knutson, heavily backed by liberal-labor forces in an effort to win back her House seat.

The Communists were very active in the Minnesota campaign, utilizing the "united front approach" laid down by party boss Gus Hall. They went all out to defeat "warmongering" Congressman Walter Judd, and Mayor Kenneth Peterson of Minneapolis, Humphrey's opponent. *The Worker* modestly declares that "the national Communist Party election statement [which urged election of 'peace' candidates] was used effectively" in the campaign.

Capitol Camera: Chicago *Sun-Times* reports that Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus is working behind the scene to woo Southern Democratic electors, deprive Kennedy of an electoral majority and throw the election into the House. Kennedy is scared, says *Sun-Times.*

• *Now being boomed for post of GOP National Chairman, when Thruston Morton steps down, is Ohio Republican State Chairman Ray Bliss. Morton has a tough re-election campaign in two years, and rumor has it that he will leave the National Committee shortly after the first of the year. Bliss gave Nixon a whopping* 269,000 *margin in Ohio on November* 8.

• Senator Karl Mundt plans to introduce legislation guaranteeing workers a secret strike vote before a union can call a work stoppage. Big Labor and the Kennedy Administration will oppose the bill.

• *Little noticed aspect of the election was the strong showing GOP made in state and local races. It took over ten Democratic state legislative houses, lost only two.*

• Example of Chicago-land politics: In the week before the election, a group of Negro ministers approached the Nixon camp, offered to come out for the GOP ticket. The cost: only $3,000. Nixon aides turned down the offer.

• *Democratic strategists urging Kennedy to pick Dean Rusk, Nelson Rockefeller's foreign policy expert, as Secretary of State.*

• If attempt is made to purge Mississippi Democrats Colmer, Smith, and Williams for their refusal to back national ticket, Southerners will retaliate by fighting Adam Clayton Powell's fitness as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. The Harlem minister backed Ike in '56.

• *Quote by Kennedy economic adviser Walt Whitman Rostow: "Freedom is one thing, an effective*

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modern state is another." (Joint Economic Committee, December 13, 1956.)

UAW: Spot commercials used in the campaigns of scores of Democratic congressional candidates across the nation were clandestinely produced and paid for by the United Auto Workers. Thousands of radio tapes and discs, plus at least a few TV films urging the election of the national Democratic ticket, were mass-produced on an assembly-line basis at UAW facilities in Washington and Detroit. In addition, at least three outside commercial studios were employed.

Whether or not the activity is a violation of the Federal election laws—which prohibit use of union dues for political action—is now being investigated by the Justice Department.

The UAW activity was carried out under the supervision of Alex Hamilton, the radio director. He originally declared that the funds for the operation came from the Committee on Political Education, but COPE officials vigorously denied this. Hamilton then stated the money came from the union's "voluntary" dollars fund, but aides to UAW chieftain Walter Reuther said they knew of no such funds, and that Hamilton had nothing but UAW dues funds to spend.

Hamilton declared that the "voluntary dollars" came from the union's "citizenship department," which union aides denied.

At any rate, the UAW output of tapes and films appears to have been heavy, rivaling the work done by the Democratic National Committee. Hamilton refused even to estimate the dollar value of the union's radio and TV "spot commercials." But the amount seems certain to be in the tens of thousands of dollars, perhaps more than $100,000.

One hundred candidates are estimated to have received UAW commercials. They include labor-backed senatorial candidates Hubert Humphrey (Minn.), Robert Conrad (Neb.), George McGovern (S. D.) and Robert McLaughlin (Idaho).

Catholic Bishops: A statement issued last week by all 227 American Roman Catholic Bishops at the conclusion of their annual meeting is causing much comment in Washington. Had it been issued during the campaign, many think, there might have been a certain amount of panic and confusion from the Kennedy-Galbraith-Bowles camp because of its pointedly anti-collectivist tone.

Signed by all five of the American Cardinals, the statement warned: "Although personal responsibility and initiative have been our national characteristics, explaining in large measure our country's progress in human welfare, pressures are growing for a constantly greater reliance on the collectivity rather than the individual. An inordinate demand for benefits, most easily secured by the pressures of organizations, has led an ever-growing number of our people to relinquish their rights and to abdicate their responsibilities . . . . Intensive socialization can achieve mass benefits, but man and morality can be seriously hurt in the process.

"This tendency to delegate excessive responsibility to an organization is discernible also in the realm of international affairs . . . many citizens seem to feel that our mere adherance to the United Nations absolves us from further responsibility in the international order and that decisions made by the United Nations, regardless of their objective value, are always to be regarded as morally right."

Supreme Court: The Supreme Court has handed down a battery of decisions in the last few weeks which are good signs for those who have chastised the Court in the past for impairing the ability of the United States to defend itself against the internal Communist threat.

In a 6-3 opinion, with only Black, Douglas and Warren dissenting, the Court once again turned down an appeal by "pacifist" Willard Uphaus. Uphaus had been sentenced for one year by a New Hampshire superior court for refusing to reveal the names of the more than 600 guests who attended the Albany, New Hampshire, summer sessions of his World Fellowship, Inc., where known Communists gave lectures.

The Court's decision marked the second time it had turned down Uphaus' appeal and in effect the opinion upheld the right of states to investigate and legislate on matters of Communist subversion, a matter which has been clouded by High Court decisions in the past.

The High Court also dismissed an appeal by Dr. Linus Pauling, who is trying to prevent the Senate Judiciary Committee from forcing him to give the names of those who helped him circulate a petition in 1958 calling for an end to nuclear testing. Pauling has only produced the names of those who signed the petition, not those who helped circulate it.

In a 5-4 decision, the High Court upheld the contempt conviction of Arthur M. McPhaul, who refused to produce records of the Civil Rights Congress to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The decisions reveal, however, that the conservatives still have only a one vote majority in most security cases. If Frankfurter, who is now considered a conservative on the Court, retires—and it has long been rumored that he would retire under a Democratic President who could choose his successor—a liberal Kennedy replacement would reduce the conservatives to a minority on the Court.

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY

A nation incapable of balancing its budget in the most prosperous years in its history would be a nation incapable of self-government.

—LIFE MAGAZINE

Vol. XVII, No. 48 — Section V

December 1, 1960

Negroes Have Become Pawns of Politicians

By Raymond Moley

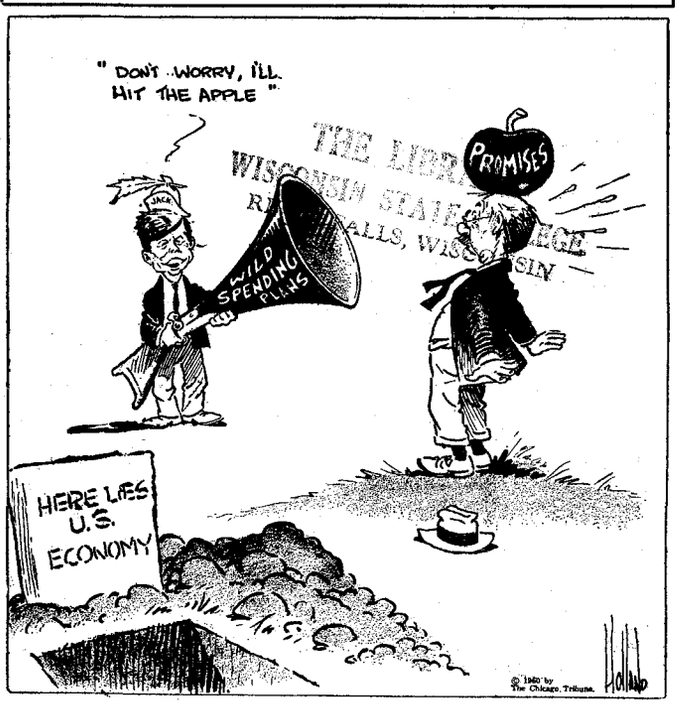
In the first term of the new President, elaborate ceremonies will undoubtedly be held in 1963 to commemorate the centenary of the Emancipation Proclamation. It might be a good year for enlightened Americans to call attention to the sordid practices of politicians of both parties who regard the Negro as a political pawn. No one should demand this with more fervor than Negro leaders who are not presently in politics.

It is already time that Negroes who have made such great progress in education and economic status should demand that they be treated in the appeals of politicians as citizens of the United States who have concerns other than those which affect them solely as members of a race. We are all equally concerned over foreign affairs, the stability of our income, and with cultural progress of all kinds.

In every great city it has been revolting to see political leaders of both parties bid for a solid Negro vote. In New York four governors in the past 20 years—Lehman, Dewey, Harriman and Rockefeller—have treated the Harlem votes as special cases. It is true that in those years Negroes in New York, as well as elsewhere, have attained important public offices, and members of their race are well represented in the public services. But this is due to the rising capability of Negroes themselves, which has been recognized by people who are not politicians. It was Branch Rickey who, by employing Jackie Robinson as a player on the Brooklyn Dodgers, opened the way to many fine Negro players on major league clubs and thus greatly increased the quality of our national sport. Rickey was no politician. He discovered and gave opportunity to those who would be a credit to baseball. It was no token gift to the race.

In the campaign now completed, the appeal to the Negro as a member of a race and not as an American citizen was especially pronounced. His vote was regarded as "pivotal." In the magazine Jet there was a calculation of how the election could be decided by special appeals to the very considerable Negro minorities. The numbers cited by Jet were: New York 775,000; Illinois, 510,000; Pennsylvania, 460,000; California, 450,000; Ohio 400,000; Michigan 350,000. It is unfortunate for the Negro himself that these large blocs of votes should be regarded as the balance of power. For nothing so intensifies prejudice as the assumption that members of any minority vote as a bloc.

IT ISN'T THE APPLE THAT BOTHERS US SO



I once heard the distinguished Rabbi Wise say in his pulpit that the moment there was a "Jewish vote," there would be an anti-Jewish vote. The concept of classes, whether they be based upon race, religion, or economic status, is repugnant to the whole spirit of America. To consider them as such is to usher in what might be called "political tribalization."

Ultimately, such reliance upon class voting will destroy the reality of a two-party system. For each party will be divided into classes and factions.

Never was a national unity, with a broad national spread of both parties into small groups, needed as much as now. It is time to end the concept of any group as a political pawn.

A Liberal Legacy

The Nation's younger citizens will live under the hysteria of inflation throughout the rest of their lives—if it is not checked now. They will carry the load of our rising debts, and its growing interest payments—if we go on spending beyond our income. —Senator Barry Goldwater

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Business Lacks Labor's Political Savvy

By VICTOR RIESEL

If America's businessmen sold refrigerators as they sold their political action philosophy during this campaign the iceman would come again.

You heard much about industry across the land pepping up its executives, turning them into political gladiators and sending them into the market places to duel and debate with "other organized forces." It didn't happen. There were mighty few gladiators, though there were many practical politics courses skillfully designed to get them into one or the other of the major parties.

Except for a few companies such as Ford, General Electric, Republic Steel, American Can, Gulf Oil, Monsanto Chemical, American Telephone and Telegraph and the Chase Manhattan Bank, I found very little anywhere which could begin to match labor's action.

There were plenty of kits, feature movies, slides and lectures, but the country clubs drew more heavily. A check with the US Chamber of Commerce reveals that it put over 100,000 persons through its "Action Courses in Practical Politics." There were ladies afternoon societies, Leagues of Women Voters, YMCAs, Junior Chambers of Commerce and Lions and Elks Clubs. But less than 20,000 of them were business executives.

There would have been fewer, if not for the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co. of St. Paul. This corporation enrolled some 5,000 of its people. Yet this was an objective course from which both parties gained. It was simply a training and awareness series so middle-of-the-road that it had labor endorsement.

Most elaborate of the practical politics training was developed by Republic Steel which did it with movies. There were 15 films featuring writers, professors and sociologists, not to mention a few professional politicians. Each production ran 20 to 30 minutes. They ranged all the way from balloting to gold balances. Republic tried to spread them among other firms without yielding to the profit motive. But there were few takers, even at cost.

Most intense and yet widespread work was done by the Civic and Government Affairs Office at Ford. They have an informed Voters Project, a Voluntary Political Contribution Plan and an Effective Citizenship Program. Some cynics will kid those names. But it is an imaginative and utterly fair bi-partisan operation.

During September, the Ford Co. ran in the plant newspapers special letters from Richard Nixon and John Kennedy to the employees. There were editorials, cartoons and messages posted in cafeterias —urging people to vote and be active and contribute in sealed envelopes to their favorite party.

Ford produced a public service movie on the importance of getting down into basic precinct politics. The late Joseph Welch narrated the film which was titled "Where Were You?"

Late in October, Ford's plant newspapers in 13 states ran a Voters Guide Issue. It featured both parties' national and state platforms and listed the national and regional candidates right on down to county offices.

Each carried features on Kennedy and Johnson and Nixon and Lodge.

Most intense of the political action programs was that of the Chase National Bank—it ran one day. It started with a talk by the bank president and then came the slides and the "practical" talks.

Of all industry's organized awareness operation there was one victory. One of the Chamber of Commerce's students, Herman T. Schneebeli, ran successfully for Congress in a special Williamsport, Pa. election.

Otherwise, hundreds of thousands of executives just ran when they heard of the courses. They're not exactly Machiavellis, these boys, not even Marc Hannas. They're a long, long way from Walter Reuther.

Nixon's Weak Jabs Cost Him Election

By Westbrook Pegler

If Vice President Nixon could run within one-half of one per cent of the popular vote for Senator Kennedy with his hands in his pockets, the fault and the blame for this defeat, and the implied additional danger of war and inflation, are Nixon's. As some of his friends observed to him soon after the first of his so-called debates with Kennedy, he was mincing around on his toes like Dewey in '44 and '48, and Kennedy was carrying the fight to him. He could and should have stood flatfooted and belted Kennedy with his party's treacherous and reckless responsibility for the rise of Soviet Russia, Red China and the Iron Curtain.

It was a terrible performance and Nixon has no excuse except, in my uncharitable opinion, the malady which ballplayers and fight managers call throat trouble. He choked up and tin-canned. So now the hope of the country rests in Congress, which almost continuously since 1933 has been a docile instrument of the Presidential will. The popular vote shows that every second voter in the country is opposed to Kennedy.

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Integrity of Dollar Faces Test

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

As chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the personable and perceptive William McChesney Martin stays out of partisan politics—but not out of areas where the public interest is embattled. Mr. Martin was telling this reporter the other day that for the first time in his life span the financial "credit" of the United States is in question. This is a fundamental matter. It affects the livelihood of every American. It affects the health and well-being of the nation. As Mr. Martin put it: "It goes right back to Alexander Hamilton."

Money is difficult to write about, and to read about, but only if we think of it as deadly statistics and filthy lucre. Inspired by Mr. Martin's reference to Hamilton, I went back and reread some of the first Secretary of the Treasury's writings on money. One factor stuck out. There is a close affinity between money and morality. To write, as Hamilton did, about public credit, public debt, the funding and assumption of the nation's obligations for repayment of debts, is to write almost incessantly in moral values.

This is Hamilton in his Report on Impost Duty: "The United States has already contracted a debt in Europe and in this country for which its faith is pledged . . . a fund (for repayment) . . . on every principle of policy and justice ought to be provided. The omission . . . would stamp the national character with indelible disgrace."

Hamilton on the Public Credit: "States, like individuals, who observe their engagements, are respected and trusted, while the reverse is the fate of those who pursue an opposite conduct . . . To justify and preserve their (people's) confidence; to promote the increasing respectability of the American name; to answer the calls of justice . . . to establish public order on the basis of an upright and liberal policy—these are the great and individual ends . . . of public credit."

These passages, with their frequency of moral reference—"faith . . . justice . . . pledges . . . respect . . . trust . . . confidence . . . upright . . ." could be multiplied many times from a culling of Hamilton's works. He was a great man, in a great time of history, because he possessed this high-minded, enlightened understanding of financial affairs, something that to many men seems a mundane or opportunistic subject.

Well, there are some Hamilton-type men today who put public money matters on the elevated plane where it belongs. Two such men whom I have interviewed are Mr. Martin and Treasury Secretary Robert Anderson. Both are concerned about the future of the American dollar in the banks and markets of the world.

The Almighty Dollar, which was once a contemptuous term of the anti-capitalists, today comes very close to being the Holy or Blessed Dollar. Many millions of peoples had the dollar fighting for them in World War II. Many millions more owe their recovery and current prosperity to the dollar. Throughout the Free World it is not just a bank note. The dollar in a very true sense is the banner of truth, liberty and plentitude.

For these reasons, a whole lot of people ought to be very genuinely alarmed whenever the dollar's integrity is threatened. The threat was averted in 1958 when Mr. Martin and Secretary Anderson returned from a trip around the world and warned President Eisenhower that foreign financiers were casting a fishy eye upon the dollar. It was after the Congressional elections of '58 that Mr. Eisenhower declared his private war upon the "spenders" of Capitol Hill.

In 1960 another peril has loomed up. Because of our grant-and-loan policy to poorer nations, and because Germany, Japan, Canada, Britain, Italy and even India can manufacture products more cheaply than we can, we are no longer accumulating wealth. Our gold is drifting abroad—to Germany, Britain and Russia.

As in Hamilton's time: ". . . the Public Credit is a matter of high importance to the honor and prosperity of the United States."

Mass 'Entertainment' Harms Our Children

By Dr. Margaret Mead
In *This Week* Magazine

In small societies, children learn by imitating their parents, relatives and neighbors. In our huge society we use our mass entertainments to instruct our children on how they should express their emotions and what values they should have.

From these they learn how to express anger when they are angry, pity when their hearts are touched. By the time they are adolescents we have taught them to express their vague and turbulent feelings of love.

We are showing our youngsters exactly the opposite of what we want them to imitate. We are showing them men who brutally attack others when angry. We show people who murder because of hatred or expediency. We show that love is expressed only by hunger for another's body. And we show them little else!

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Students Reject Liberal Teachings

By SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

A Senator, even the Junior Senator from Arizona, is constantly invited to appear before groups and express his opinions.

It is from my appearances before college and high school groups that I am able to draw the greatest encouragement. And to my mind one of the great privileges of being a Senator is to be found in the happy circumstances of being permitted to speak to and to converse with the knowledgable young people of our day.

Not long ago I was invited to appear before the undergraduates of two Eastern universities carelessly classified as being liberal and left in their teachings.

I have no way of knowing the opinions and beliefs of the faculty. But the expressions of the students strengthen my conviction that young America has penetrated the deceptive disguise of the radical liberal prophets and is expressing a vital, new, youthful conservatism.

This growing acceptance of the conservative belief appears to flourish despite the outright antagonism of some teachers.

I have a friend whose daughter graduated last year from a Western high school. He tells me that throughout her senior year her instructor in government bombarded his students with all manner of liberal propaganda—ranging from doctrinaire movies, prepared and provided by COPE, to demonstrable falsehoods pronounced as gospel truth by the instructor.

My friend's daughter went to school most days of her senior year armed with printed material to confront and refute her instructor's position.

In this instance, the teacher's prejudice was recognized by all the students and I suspect that all he succeeded in doing was to strengthen the conservative views of some of his students and compel them, by his attitude, to become articulate exponents of conservative belief.

Recently the mother of a senior in another Western high school reported to me that her daughter, as a requirement for completing a course in American government, was told to write a theme on the political beliefs of the people of the United States.

Accepting the assignment at face value, the daughter worked industriously for several weeks, writing and polishing her own ideas and expressing her own understanding of the system of government we call the Republic of the United States of America.

On the final page of her essay she did me the honor to quote a passage from my book, "The Conscience of a Conservative."

Her teacher returned the theme to her with a low grade. The quotation from Goldwater had been blue-penciled entirely and on the margin of the paper the instructor had written: "This may be what you think, but Goldwater is just whistling Dixie."

This child may have been unfortunate in her selection of a quotation, but I don't think her teacher's reaction will change her mind. I suspect that she and I will go on "whistling Dixie" together. How do you stand, sir?

A Shift of 10,000 Votes Could Have Elected Nixon

A shift of 10,278 votes would have made Richard M. Nixon the next President of the United States: Nixon got 223 electoral votes; he needed 269. Note how a small number of shifted votes would have changed the outcome.

State	Electoral Votes	Shift Needed
Illinois	27	3,199
Missouri	13	4,650
New Mexico	4	1,239
Nevada	3	1,190
	47	10,278

Fourteen other electoral votes are unpledged. The shifted votes would be 0.015% of the 67,538,792 cast for Nixon and Kennedy.

A shift of the Illinois, New Mexico, and Nevada votes, totaling 5,628, would have made the electoral count 266 for Kennedy and 257 for Nixon and would have forced a decision by the House of Representatives. This shift would have represented 0.008% of the total major party vote.

Omitting any discussion of Nixon's campaign mistakes, here are several factors which might have made the difference:

(1) Greater confidence that Nixon could win—inspiring party workers to work harder.

(2) Stronger party leadership in those close states to increase the effectiveness at the precinct level.

(3) More doorbell ringing by YOU—just a few of you.

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Attend Political Action Conference January 6-7, 1961

HUMAN EVENTS will hold a Political Action Conference at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C. next January 6 and 7. The newly elected Congress will be holding its opening sessions. The new President will be awaiting the inauguration.

Leading Senators, Representatives, and noted Washington correspondents—those pictured above and others whose acceptances are dependent upon the results of the election—will be Conference speakers. They will appraise the consequences of the election. In the seminar discussions, they will tell you what you can do back home to promote sound legislation and defeat unsound legislation.

The pressures for inflationary spending programs have been growing. The demagogs and the con men have been promising a Santa Claus government. The egghead Americans for Democratic Action and COPE, the political arm of the AFL-CIO, are working for the creation of a centralized all-powerful Federal Government, the blueprint for socialism.

Inflation is the secret weapon of the Communists. Lenin taught that the erosion of the currency is the way to reduce to helpless dependency the self-reliant, thrifty classes who are the natural enemies of the Communist revolution.

The undisguised warfare against the people by the forces behind the Big Spend, Big Tax, Big Government programs will come out into the open when the new Congress convenes next January.

HUMAN EVENTS aims to rally together in Washington those who believe in limited constitutional government, states' rights, private enterprise and individual freedom.

On your calendar, mark those dates, Friday and Saturday, January 6 and 7. Plan to attend. Fee: $75. For additional members of the same family, $45. Fee for attendance at all sessions includes the two lunches and the two dinners (Friday and Saturday). Hotel accommodations and breakfasts, extra. Rooms at the Willard Hotel are priced at: Singles, $10 and up, Doubles, $17 and up.

This Conference comes as the Convention Season is beginning in Washington; therefore only 100 hotel rooms can be obtained. First come, first served. MAIL YOUR RESERVATION IMMEDIATELY.

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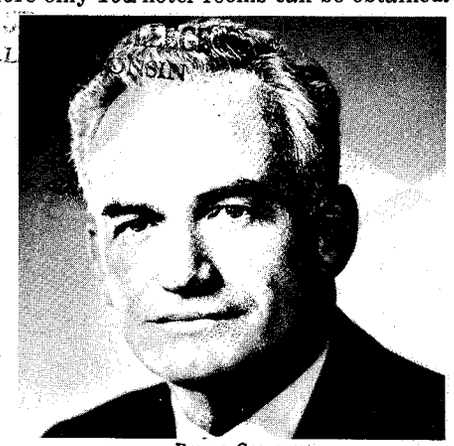

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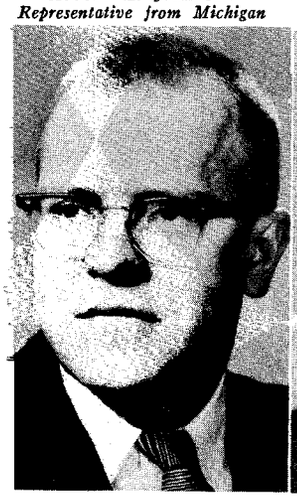

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The Grandeur and Misery of Washington

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By EDNA LONIGAN

OF GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS there is no end. When the clangor of national and international struggles abates a little, we hear rising from all parts of the Nation, the warning sounds from our exploding metropolitan areas.

Washington, D. C., suffers from all the pains of housing, urban redevelopment, mass transit and urban sprawl, which cities under their own self-elected officials find it so hard to cope with. Urban Washington is spreading beyond the limits of the District of Columbia, and we already hear suggestions for the type of super-metropolitan government referred to as Metro.

These difficulties will be intensified by plans to add new Federal office buildings to those which now dominate the Capital. The State Department wants a new building, though the last building is barely completed. Health, Education and Welfare needs another skyscraper. The Pentagon wants three new sprawling Pentagons. And so forth.

Although it has, until recently, had practically no industry, Washington has a large population of unskilled, uprooted "proletarians," who compete desperately in a tight job market for openings which can use their labor.

The children of these unskilled workers often come to school hungry. Some are starving. Comfortable people do not always wish to know how many people are, like the little match girl, standing outside the windows, looking at the warmth and comfort of our prosperous society, while they are weak with hunger and cold. The Washington schools, which have a heavy enough burden, even without integration, are expected to cope with this hunger as if it were an educational problem.

The proletarian fringe has been growing in the Capital since 1933. The city is the goal of a stream of people leaving the static rural communities of nearby states or the South, to catch some of the crumbs from the wealth and splendor of the new Washington.

This migration is symptomatic of our time. Throughout most of our history, Americans migrated to areas where natural resources were plentiful and they could support themselves even under hardship conditions. The movement in general was westward. In the 1930's, a new migration pattern appeared. People from rural areas and towns, without organized welfare departments, began moving toward the large cities where relief was plentiful.

This flow of welfare migrants has been generally east and north, toward the larger cities, which have relief establishments staffed by professionals fully indoctrinated with the principles of Statism. Non-residents are supposed to be barred, but they can always qualify, by subterfuge if necessary. The problem of relief for mothers with several illegitimate children is one aspect of this new migration, from communities with little opportunity, to those with "opportunities" provided by organized welfare.

What is not generally realized, either by Congress or by the public, is that the plight of the needy in Washington will grow worse with every increase in the number of splendid palaces for official business. The new jobs will never equal the number of job-seekers drawn to Washington by the magnetic pull of its official grandeur.

"I found Rome of brick and left it of marble," was the boast of Augustus, even as the strong, human foundations of the Roman Republic were crumbling. Pericles fed a homeless throng from the country at the very time when the new public buildings of Athens were most magnificent. Imperial Rome furnished bread and circuses for its "proletariat," because the wealth which drew them in from the country was the symbol of decay in sturdy self-support on the land. More marble palaces for the New Deal and its successors do not reduce, but increase, the size of the Washington proletariat and deepen its suffering.

Self-government for Washington may be a good thing in itself, but it will do nothing to cure the grandeur and misery of empire.

CONGRESS HAS A CHOICE. Why should it put all the new official palaces in Washington? This raises a political question of first importance. Is it good for the United States to be governed from a capital city, like Rome and the France of Louis XIV? Or should we keep our political strength in the countryside, close to the people of the Nation, as the English and Americans insisted on doing until the present day?

France, the German States and Russia strengthened the State apparatus and the capital city, as they built the nation. The English would not give their kings either armies or bureaucracies. The energies of the nation were not sucked to the capital and the court. British political life kept its base in the countryside. The counties remained more important than the capital.

Americans embodied this deep conviction in our

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doctrines of local control of elections, suffrage, police, crime and schooling. Eighteenth Century Americans knew the price of concentration of power at the capital was autocracy.

The choice is political. If Congress wishes to strengthen bureaucratic absolutism, it is more efficient to put the bureaus close to the seat of government, where they gradually become a "court," and govern the "provinces" by lines of communication extending outward like a web from the center.

The transformation of Washington in a few years from a quiet southern town to a bustling metropolis is symbolic of the transformation of our political power from its foundation in the sovereign people to its new center in the bureaus.

Congress can reduce the physical concentration of bureaucratic staffs and official palaces in Washington. It can scatter them about the countryside, where they will be under close observation of the once-sovereign people.

Why do we need two blocks of office buildings in Washington to deal with the farm problem? The farm problem is centered in corn and wheat, cattle and cotton country. The Department's office buildings should be in the prairie states.

Why should the Department of Interior be on D Street, when its work is nearer to Wyoming? Why should not the I. C. C. have its headquarters in Chicago or St. Louis? We used to think the Federal Reserve Board was subject to dangerous international influences in New York City in the 1920's, but why did Washington expand bank credit, in the '40's and '50's except to finance its global adventures? In the '20's the internationalists could influence one Reserve district—New York City's. Under the New Deal concentration of power, they controlled the credit of the Nation, and closed off all effective dissent.

Even the Defense Department does not have an excuse for concentrating four Pentagons full of people in Washington. It is no easier to study the problems of the Pacific here than it is in Colorado.

The State Department, almost alone, would have a case for remaining in Washington—though the "Voice of America" could spend a little time getting the feel of America. Perhaps even foreign aid and trade agreements could be better carried on from Kansas or Nevada. As Interior was moved to Wyoming or Idaho, and Agriculture to Iowa or Nebraska, the State Department could expand (if it really needed to expand) by taking over the old buildings they left. Of course these buildings would not be splendid enough for State's higher officials, but the hard working clerks could be moved to the dingier offices.

How much might happen if foreign policy operations stood out clearly, without the confusion of hundreds of competing agencies! Congress might even get a grip on our self-steering State Department and compel it to follow pro-American policies.

Business people, owners of speculative land, builders and owners of rental space would protest. Decentralization would limit their returns from their equities—and their skill in getting Government loans. But labor unions, business firms, rich widows and foreign governments seeking out gifts, will still throng to Washington. Our town will grow too fast, even if every effort is made to hold down the bureaucratic expansion in the Capital.

BUREAU OFFICIALS would be horror-struck at the idea of removing them from the place where it is easiest to exert their influence on the President and Congress. But Congress would gain much freedom from vexation if the bureaucracy was scattered over fifty states. Members of Congress are already concerned at the growth of Federal agencies within their states, and its effect on voting. In many states there are more Federal employees than the total of State and local officials combined. That suggests Congress should cut down the bureaucracies before scattering them, but what is wrong with that?

Decentralization of Government would divide the stream of needy migrants into many branches. They would seek first the nearby centers of wealth. There they could live in smaller cities, more like their former communities.

The great human tide flowing toward Washington, New York and California would be reduced. The cruel human misery at the base of our imperial grandeur would diminish a little.

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Father Carol's 'Kennedy for President? No!'

The Story of the Campaign's No. 1 Document

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PERHAPS the most effective single anti-Kennedy document published during the Presidential campaign was a HUMAN EVENTS article entitled "Kennedy for President? A Catholic Priest Says 'No!'" The author was Father Juniper B. Carol.

Between Kennedy's nomination and November 8, nearly 15,000 persons ordered reprints of this article from HUMAN EVENTS, mostly $1 for 15 copies or $2 for 35 copies.

For 120 days, letters like the following were streaming in: "I am a Catholic. Nearly all of my friends are voting for Kennedy. Please rush me 15 copies of the article by Father Carol for the enclosed $1."

A spot check revealed that more than one-half of the persons ordering copies were Catholics. The orders came largely from Northern Catholic areas. Very few came from the South. Many were from nuns and priests.

Father Carol's HUMAN EVENTS article had hardly come off the press before its potential was recognized by the Vatican-hating Communist organ, *The Worker*, which became a Defender of the Catholic Church—for the duration of the campaign. Without mentioning the contents—which would have defeated its objective—*The Worker* described the Father Carol piece as an example of the "hate literature" that would soon be coming out by the carload. That item was a signal. Party members and fellow travellers passed the word to sympathizers who passed it on to non-Communist liberals: Smear the Father Carol HUMAN EVENTS article so it will automatically be thought of as a piece of anti-Catholic "hate literature."

As a consequence, whenever a city editor, anywhere in America, passed out the assignment: "Write a story about the anti-Catholic literature that is being circulated in this city," the odds were 50-50 that somewhere down the line there would be a mention of the Father Carol article. A sly insinuation would be made that the article might be a forgery or the author must be an unfrocked priest. The "negligence" of the political writer in not checking his facts could not be accidental. Every HUMAN EVENTS reprint (1) carried the statement of Father Carol's membership in the Order of Franciscan Monks; (2) gave his address: St. Bonaventure Monastery, 174 Ramsey St., Paterson, N. J.; (3) stated that he was listed in the OFFICIAL CATHOLIC DIRECTORY, page 961, May 1960 issue —published by P. J. Kenedy Co., N. Y. No hint of the contents was given by those who attacked the article. They led their readers to believe the article was a diatribe against the Catholic Church.

Long-time readers of HUMAN EVENTS, of course, were not to be fooled. They know that during its 16 years of existence, our publication has never carried an anti-Catholic sentence. HUMAN EVENTS has printed in its columns scores of laudatory testimonials from Catholic priests, sisters, professors, and educators. However, these facts would not be known to those whose first knowledge of HUMAN EVENTS came during the heat of the Presidential campaign.

Consequently, at this time, we are telling the Father Carol story from the beginning as a means of correcting the many myths and half-truths spread about Father Carol.

LAST MAY, HUMAN EVENTS received from Father Carol a copy of a speech he had delivered to a Catholic audience.

Father Carol's speech was too long for our two-page article size and too short for our four-page size. In every editorial office in America, it is customary, if a desirable article is too long, to contact the author and discuss the question of bringing it down to the proper length. Every ethically-edited publication is keenly aware of the fact that an article belongs to the author and to no one else. He alone must make the decision as to whether changes or deletions shall be made.

Father Carol's speech was primarily an attack upon liberalism, Kennedy's political and economic philosophy. However, he included three paragraphs (printed in full in the Appendix at the end of this article) expressing his derogatory opinion of "modern" Republicans. That opinion is shared by HUMAN EVENTS which during its history has printed an untold number of indictments of "modern" Republicanism.

With our space limitation, something had to be cut. We suggested that it was better to have a complete analysis of Kennedy's political and economic philosophy than to dilute that attack for the incidental purpose of swatting "liberal" Republicans. Remember, this was mid-May. Rockefeller, the symbol of modern Republicanism, was hardly likely to win the GOP nomination. Nixon was not considered by "modern" Republicans to be one of them. Therefore, the omission was logical.

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No one reading Father Carol's article could mistake what his target was. By any logical inference, he would oppose welfarist philosophy, no matter what party or candidate was carrying the banner.

Father Carol was in wholehearted accord. He wrote a letter to HUMAN EVENTS *accepting all the suggestions and saying he was delighted that the article was to be published. (Letter is quoted in Appendix at the end of this article.)*

Sensing the article would be smeared as anti-Catholic, we took two precautions: (1) HUMAN EVENTS mailed a copy to the National Fair Campaign Practices Committee. The director wrote us that he could find nothing unfair or anti-Catholic in its contents.

Our second precaution was to publish a notice about the Father Carol article in *Editor and Publisher*, the trade journal of newspaperdom.

Saying that it was bound to be a campaign document, we offered all editors a free copy and then said:

> Reprinting HUMAN EVENTS articles is forbidden to anti-Catholic publications. An anti-Catholic publication is one which believes that no Catholic has the right to become President of the United States. HUMAN EVENTS opposes Senator Kennedy solely because of his political philosophy. HUMAN EVENTS regards Adenauer and DeGaulle—BOTH CATHOLICS—as the two greatest European statesmen. If Kennedy had the capacity and wisdom of these men, we would FAVOR, not oppose, his election to the Presidency of the United States.

Kennedy supporters sensed instantly that the piece could be deadly. Here was an atomic bomb! A majority of the Catholic hierarchy clearly had grave misgivings about Kennedy. (See HUMAN EVENTS article by Nicholas T. Nonnenmacher, "Will Catholics Defeat Kennedy?" August 11, 1960—a survey of the attitude of the Catholic press toward Kennedy.) Catholic rank and file have been voting Republican at an accelerating speed since 1945. In the thirties, only 20 per cent Republican, the proportion had climbed to 49 per cent in 1956. The trend Republicanward was unmistakable.

True, Kennedy was a Catholic and his fellow religionists felt a compulsion to prove that one of their faith could be elected President. That emotional pressure must not be vitiated.

Among Catholics was the fear that Kennedy might appoint either Stevenson or Bowles as Secretary of State. Furthermore, the vigor with which he was being supported by the "liberal" establishment was highly disturbing. The Kennedy religious strategists saw that the Father Carol article could have distressing consequences if something was not done about it.

The first essential was to get into print a libel-proof story, one that editors could print without sending the story first to their lawyers. Senator Kefauver, who has good reason to dislike HUMAN EVENTS (see Willard Edward's March 24, 1960, article on Kefauver's Senate career), was persuaded to make an attack upon HUMAN EVENTS behind his constitutional immunity. Delivering a long speech on August 30 denouncing bigotry, he included HUMAN EVENTS as a peddler of "hate literature."

Senator Bridges (R.-N.H.) was so aroused that he went to the floor and made the following statement (Congressional Record, September 2, 1960, page 17695):

"Mr. President, I note in the Congressional Record for August 31, page 17046, a speech by one of my distinguished colleagues, complaining of and attacking anti-Catholic propaganda in the present political campaign.

"I agree with this position. I deplore and condemn such propaganda and attacks. However, I am concerned about one sentence in the speech, which reads as follows:

" 'There will be organizations and publications like the Ku Klux Klan, the falsely named committee for constitutional government, and a magazine called HUMAN EVENTS, to mention just three—that will peddle messages of suspicion and falsehood, that will attempt to rally prejudice in place of reason.' "

Continued Senator Bridges:

"I happen to be a regular reader of the weekly newsletter HUMAN EVENTS and I am amazed that anyone would bracket HUMAN EVENTS with the Ku Klux Klan. The publication stands for racial and religious tolerance and never, to my knowledge, has it published anything in consonance with the Ku Klux Klan or similar racial and religious prejudice groups. HUMAN EVENTS has never 'peddled' messages of suspicion and falsehood, or attempted to rally prejudice in place of reason. There has been nothing in HUMAN EVENTS which could be even remotely interpreted as agreeing with or encouraging 'hate groups.' . . ."

Nevertheless, the Kefauver immunity-protected speech was highly successful.

Scores of liberal Washington correspondents telegraphed the story to their newspapers.

THE UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL put the story on its wires. For that it cannot be criticized. A serious charge whether true or false made by a prominent Senator is news.

However, when accusations that could be irresponsible are made from the libel-proof floor of Congress, it is customary to give the victim a chance to defend himself, so the denial will move over the wires along with the original charges.

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When this neglect was called to the attention of the United Press International, its news director, Roger Tatarian, sent an apology to HUMAN EVENTS.

One Kennedy technique powerful enough to frighten local Nixon committees into agreeing to stop distribution was to claim the article was anti-Catholic because it called the attention of the voters to the fact that Kennedy is a Catholic. They demanded that "Catholic" be taken out of the title.

In those rare instances where we were given a chance to answer before the local Nixon leaders agreed to stop distribution, we responded that the title calls attention to the fact that the CRITIC of Kennedy's political beliefs is a Catholic; in fact, he is a Catholic priest.

We asked how perverted could thinking become. Here was a nonsensical argument: "It contributes to religious hatred if a Catholic priest expresses his opposition to Kennedy."

We insisted that the Father Carol article, if it were read carefully, would REDUCE bigotry, not increase it. Bigots argue that the Catholic Church wants Kennedy in the White House so the Pope can control the President of the United States. What more convincing proof that there is no hierarchal dictation to Catholic rank and file than Father Carol's article? For additional evidence, we said: Read *The Wanderer*, *The Tablet*, and other Catholic publications that have been openly critical of the young man from Hyannis Port.

SOME OF THE NEWSPAPER clippings sent to HUMAN EVENTS by its readers indicated the cleverness of some unscrupulous Kennedy journalists. One clever writer would start a train of thought. If it sounded plausible, others would pick it up. A newspaper's political editor, writing as if he were so outraged that he could hardly contain himself, would say that the Father Carol article was being distributed in Catholic neighborhoods and near Catholic churches. Impression: bigotry has reached such a mad pitch that its advocates are now pushing anti-Catholic literature into the hands of Catholics as well as Protestants. Other political commentators built their stories around the same theme.

While all this was going on, the Kennedy people made a "brilliant" discovery. By misrepresentation and distortion, they made the most of it. To tell this story, we'll have to go back to the receipt of the Father Carol article.

At the same time that Father Carol mailed his speech to HUMAN EVENTS, he mailed it to *The Wanderer*. *The Wanderer*, not having our two-page limitation, printed the speech in full. The editors thought the critique of Senator Kennedy so important that they ran ads about the article in other Catholic publications.

The Wanderer could hardly be smeared as anti-Catholic. This organ is a lay Catholic newspaper published in St. Paul, Minnesota. It has the approval of the Archbishop of St. Paul, who writes a weekly column in the *Wanderer*. But HUMAN EVENTS could be so labeled—since the truth would not catch up with the falsehoods until after November 8.

The fact that HUMAN EVENTS had omitted three paragraphs carried in *The Wanderer* was soon discovered. As if directed by a central source, local Kennedy-packed "fair play" committees everywhere began issuing ultimatums. HUMAN EVENTS must print the article "in full" or quit selling reprints. To persons who did not understand the intricacies of publishing, the demand sounded plausible.

HUMAN EVENTS responded with two proposals:

Our first offer was to submit to the Authors League of America or to the American Society of Newspaper Editors or to a group of magazine editors to be selected entirely by Kennedy aides, the question of whether an author has the right to allow a speech of his to be cut—with his written permission.

The principle that was being pushed was that once a man has delivered a speech, he cannot allow it to be printed except as originally delivered—even if the speech is printed as an article and is not represented to be the full transcript of a speech.

The second proposal made by HUMAN EVENTS was that the Democratic National Committee, or any local committee, had a perfectly legitimate right to issue a press release telling the full story of the article. We even suggested a title: WHAT YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT THE FATHER CAROL PIECE. We said the release could say:

"The Father Carol article printed in HUMAN EVENTS omits three paragraphs from a speech he delivered to a Catholic audience. The omitted paragraphs were published in *The Wanderer*, a Catholic weekly newspaper in St. Paul, which published his speech in full. Father Carol is opposed to the welfare state philosophy. The paragraphs omitted by HUMAN EVENTS say that he opposes ALL welfare state proponents, whether they be Republicans or Democrats."

We went further: we said they could add a statement that HUMAN EVENTS is just as vehement in its opposition to the welfare state as is Father Carol.

Our offers were not accepted.

But the protests accomplished their purpose. Many a would-be distributor of Father Carol's article was deterred by the claim that there was

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something unethical about our elimination of the three paragraphs.

Long Island, having a heavy middle-class Catholic population, was to be the scene of a heavy distribution of the article. Only a small number had reached the area when Alicia Patterson Guggenheim's newspaper *Newsday* got wind of it. *Newsday* has a circulation of 305,000. Mrs. Guggenheim is a strong Kennedy supporter. *Newsday* bannered a story: "Anti-Kennedy Tract Disowned by Priest."

When Father Carol learned of it, he told HUMAN EVENTS:

"The October 31 headline story in *Newsday* relative to my HUMAN EVENTS article is false insofar as the charge that I disown it. I did not give *Newsday* any statement for publication. Neither did I claim that HUMAN EVENTS had distorted my views."

Drew Pearson had to get into the act. He sent to his 550 client newspapers the following dispatch:

> One of the most widely circulated tracts in the campaign was entitled, "Kennedy for President? A Catholic Priest Says 'No'." Written by the Rev. Dr. J. B. Carol, this article was critical of both political parties.
>
> But the anti-Nixon material was culled out by the editors of HUMAN EVENTS, a Washington newsletter, and the rest distributed as an attack upon Kennedy.
>
> Copies of the tract were mailed out by various Republican county committees. Some were even mailed out in official envelopes of the New Hampshire State Planning and Development Commission.

Since the paragraphs omitted are printed in full at the end of this article, readers may judge for themselves whether "anti-Nixon material was culled out."

The election was over two weeks ago. Still the orders come in—from 30 and 40 persons a day, mostly Catholics. Here's one letter that expresses the thoughts of many of those now wanting copies:

> "I wish I had known about Father Carol's article before the election. It puts into words the way I felt, but I voted for Kennedy for the same reason that most of my Catholic friends did. If I had read that article, I would have voted against him. Thousands and thousands of other Catholics would have switched their vote, too, I am sure, if they had read Father Carol in time. I hope the new President will read the declaration signed by 237 bishops, archbishops and cardinals about the need for promoting personal responsibility and about the evils of collectivism. I feel that the declaration was really their plea to the new President. Pray that he will read and reflect upon it."

With their instinct for the jugular, the liberals had the right hunch when they concentrated their fire upon the Father Carol article.

If only a small number of persons had changed their vote in each of four states (Illinois, Missouri, Nevada and New Mexico) with substantial Catholic populations, states that went for Kennedy by the skin of their teeth, Kennedy might today be vacationing on his father's Riviera estate, planning how to make his comeback in '64.

Appendix

The Omitted Paragraphs

From the above description, though brief and incomplete, it should be obvious that the very last thing this Country needs at the present is a "liberal" President. The record of past "liberal" performance is rather illuminating in this respect, and should sound a timely note of warning to complacent Americans. For the past twenty-eight consecutive years the "liberal" wizards have been holding sway in Washington, first under the Democratic banner, later under the label of so-called "Modern Republicanism." They have had, therefore, ample opportunity to test the validity of their theorizing. What has been the net result?

On the national scene: wild spending; a staggering national debt; increasing inflation; creeping Socialism; abject servility to certain labor bosses; and, worst of all, ever-mounting Communist infiltration up to and including the most sensitive echelons within the US Government apparatus.

On the international horizon: the emergence, aided and abetted by the West, of Soviet Russia as a mighty and menacing Power in the society of nations; the steady expansion of Communist tyranny all over the world, with the consequent enslavement of literally millions of human beings; the humiliating Korean "armistice" and the futile sacrifice of thirty-five thousand casualties. All this, and a good deal more, was brought about by the stubborn blindness of the US "Liberal" Establishment, by their unrealistic and preposterous policy of "flexibility" and outright appeasement, by their cringing subservience to the United Nations. Frankly, the frightening prospect of yet another "liberal" Administration makes me shudder.

May 23, 1960

Dear Mr. Hanighen:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 20 and the typed draft of my piece on Senator Kennedy.

I am happy to give you my permission to publish it in HUMAN EVENTS with the minor modifications which you have suggested and which we discussed over the 'phone this morning.

I take this opportunity to thank you again for your kindness in giving such enthusiastic approval of my speech.

Very sincerely yours,

Rev. J. B. Carol, O. F. M.
Editor, MARIAN STUDIES
174 Ramsey Street
Paterson 1, New Jersey

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